

Message Text

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S E C R E T USBERLIN 0478

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: OTRA/OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), WB, GW

SUBJECT: SECRETARY'S VISIT TO BERLIN

REF: A. STATE 053924 B. USBERLIN 81

SETTING

1. REF B DESCRIBES THE WEST BERLIN MOOD AS WE SAW IT AT END OF YEAR. CURRENT KEY FACTORS MIGHTS BE PARTICULARLY RELEVANT IN THINKING ABOUT BEST APPROACH TO VISIT ON ASSUMPTION IT WILL TAKE PLACE IN NEAR FUTURE:

A. WHILE GOVERNING MAYOR SCHUETZ AND SPD ARE IN THROES OF FORMING NEW GOVERNMENT, THIS TIME IN COALITION WITH FDP, SPD SUFFERED SHARP SET-BACK IN MARCH 2 BERLIN ELECTIONS. SINCE RESULTS FOLLOWED PATTERN IN OTHER RECENT LAENDER ELECTIONS, WE DO NOT SEE LORENZ AFFAIR OR FACTORS PECULIAR TO BERLIN AS HAVING BEEN DETERMINATIVE-- LAW AND ORDER, ECONOMIC RECESSION AND MALAISZKASSOCIATED WITH PARTY IN POWER FOR LONG TIME WERE PROBABLY KEY FACTORS.

B. STUDIED EFFORT WAS MADE PRIOR TO ELECTION TO SUSTAIN ATTRACTIVE IMAGE FOR OSTPOLITIK, WITH EMPHASIS ON PENDING GDR EFFORTS FOR IMPROVEMENTS IN BERLIN'S TRANSPORTATION LINKS TO FRG. FACT REMAINS, HOWEVER,

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THAT GOOD DEAL OF STEAM HAS GONE OUT OF OSTPOLITIK.

C. WEST BERLINERS REMAIN CONCERNED ABOUT LONG-TERM FUTURE OF CITY AND PROSPECTS FOR GROWTH. THEY ARE PLEASED WITH AND HAVE COME TO TAKE FOR GRANTED PRACTICAL IMPROVEMENTS, NOTABLY FOR VISITS AND TRANSPORTATION OF PERSONS AND GOODS, PROVIDED FOR IN QA. THEY ARE LESS SANGUINE ABOUT FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TIES WITH FRG, WHICH THEY SEE AS MOST FEASIBLE MEANS OF INJECTING NEW LIFE INTO CITY.

D. UNEASINESS IN REGARD TO TIES IS FED BY CONTINUING STREAM OF SOVIET-GDR PROTESTS ABOUT APPLICATION OF FRG LEGISLATION AND TREATIES TO BERLIN, ACTIVITIES IN BERLIN OF FRG OFFICIALS, ETC., EVEN WHEN ACTIONS ARE CONSONANT WITH QA AND ACCORD WITH LONG-STANDING PRACTICES. REASONS BEHIND REASSIGNMENT OF QA-NEGOTIATOR ABRASIMOV AS SOVIET AMBASSADOR TO EAST BERLIN TOGETHER WITH MEMBERS OF HIS OLD TEAM REMAIN TO BE FATHOMED, BUT COMMON WISDOM READS APPOINTMENT AT LEAST PARTLY IN ABOVE CONTEXT, I.E., THOSE SOVIETS MOST FAMILIAR WITH QA WILL BE BACK AND WILL BE PLUGGING THEIR VERSION OF KEY QA PROVISIONS. (PRINCIPAL IMMEDIATE TARGET OF SOVIET COMPLAINT IS EC DECISION TO ESTABLISH IN BERLIN A VOCATIONAL TRAINING CENTER, MOVE THAT HAS HAD ALLIED BLESSING AS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH TREATY OF ROME AND QA.)

E. TO SURPRISING EXTENT US AND ALLIED POLICY IN BERLIN HAS BEEN OUT OF LIMELIGHT BEFORE, DURING AND SINCE BERLIN ELECTION CAMPAIGN. WE CONTINUE TO ENJOY LARGE RESERVOIR OF GOODWILL, US FORCES ARE REGARDED AS BEDROCK OF CITY'S SECURITY, AND, WHILE SOME RESPONSIBLE BERLINERS HAVE MISGIVINGS ABOUT ALLIED DETERMINATION FULLY TO EXPLOIT QA OPPORTUNITIES, ALL FACTIONS ARE GENERALLY SATISFIED WITH MAJOR ALLIED, AND PARTICULARLY US POSITIONS.

F. JUDGE DRENKMANN'S ASSASSINATION AND LORENZ'S KIDNAPPING A(AND FAILURE TO APPREHEND CULPRITS) HAVE NOT
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ONLY DEEPENED CONCERN ABOUT LAW AND ORDER PER SE BUT HAVE TENDED TO CAST SOMETHING OF PALL ON GENERAL MOOD OF CITIZENRY.

SPEECH CONTENT

2. WE ARE NOT IMPLYING FROM ABOVE THAT WEST BERLINERS ARE GOING ABOUT WITH GLOOMY FACES OR SITTING AT HOME

WAITING FOR DOOMSDAY. CITY REMAINS LARGEST INDUSTRIAL METROPOLIS IN GERMANY AND AN IMPORTANT CULTURAL CENTER. IT HAS SUFFERED LESS THAN THE FRG AS A WHOLE FROM CURRENT ECONOMIC SLOW-DOWN. THIS FIRST VISIT BY A TOP USG OFFICIAL SINCE SIGNING OF QA OFFERS EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY TO EMPHASIZE POSITIVE IN RELATION TO US POLICY. WE AGREE THAT BEST WAY TO DO SO IS TO RELATE BERLIN SITUATION TO BROADER FRAMEWORK OF DETENTE. ACCORDINGLY, FOLLOWING POINTS SUGGESTED FOR CONSIDERATION IN PREPARING DRAFT REMARKS:

-- OVER RECENT PAST, WE HAVE DONE WHAT WE CAN TO PROVE THAT WE MEAN WHAT WE SAY: WE HAVE ENTERED INTO ERA OF NEGOTIATION, MOVING FROM ERA OF CONFRONTATION, AND MUST DEPORT OURSELVES ACCORDINGLY.

-- THIS SHIFT IN EMPHASIS HAS BEEN MADE POSSIBLE BECAUSE MAJOR NUCLEAR POWERS RECOGNIZE THAT NEITHER CAN AFFORD TERRIBLE RISKS OF ATTEMPTING TO IMPOSE WILL AND SYSTEM OF ONE ON THE OTHER.

-- KEYSTONE FOR DETENTE MUST REMAIN STRENGTH AND SOLIDARITY OF OUR ALLIANCES, PARTICULARLY ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

-- IT IS ALTOGETHER FITTING TO DWELL ON THEME OF DETENTE HERE IN WEST BERLIN, INASMUCH AS BERLIN AGREEMENT CAN PROPERLY BE REGARDED AS PRACTICAL TESTING GROUND FOR EFFORTS TO LESSEN OR REMOVE CAUSE OF TENSION.

-- SOME MONTHS AGO (SECRETARY 'S SEPTEMBER 19 STATEMENT TO FSRC), I DISCUSSED AT LENGTH KEY PRINCIPLES THAT
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GOVERN DETENTE; ALL APPLY IN BERLIN:

(1) DETENTE MUST REFLECT SPIRIT OF GIVE-AND-TAKE, AND ADVANTAGES CANNOT BE ONE-SIDED. ACCOMMODATION AND RESTRAINT BY ALL PARTIES, HOWEVER, AND ACCEPTANCE OF MUTUAL OBLIGATIONS SHOULD WITH GOOD WILL RESULT IN PERCEIVED MUTUAL ADVANTAGES. OTHER SIDE OF COIN IS THAT ATTEMPT TO CAPITALIZE ON ADVANTAGES ACCRUING FROM CAREFULLY BALANCED AGREEMENTS ARE LIKELY TO INCREASE TENSION AND RENEW DISTRUST. IN SHORT, DETENTE TO BE DURABLE MUST LEAD ALL INTERESTED PARTIES TO BELIEVE THEIR INTERESTS HAVE BEEN ADVANCED.

(2) IT MUST BE CLEAR AS WE PROCEED TO

ESTABLISH MORE CONSTRUCTIVE RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES THAT WE CONTINUE TO REGARD OUR ALLIANCE RELATIONSHIPS AS HIGHLY AS EVER. IN THIS CONTEXT, WE WILL SUSTAIN OUR DEFENCE POSTURE AS REQUIRED TO SUSTAIN THE CREDIBILITY OF OUR ALLIANCES.

(3) WE ARE AWARE THAT DETENTE WILL NOT RESULT IN RAPID CHANGE IN HUMAN CONDITIONS IN EASTERN EUROPE, BUT ARE HOPEFUL THAT INCREASED HUMAN CONTACTS WILL BRING CHANGES IN TIME, AND IN THE INTERIM DO NOT BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE DETERRED FROM ATTEMPTING TO ACHIEVE THE ACHIEVABLE.

-- HOW JUDGE THE BERLIN AGREEMENT THEN IN THE LIGHT OF THESE PRINCIPLES? BY AND LARGE, IT IS FAIR TO SAY THAT IT IS WORKING WELL. I FULLY REALIZE THERE ARE THOSE WHO CHARGE THAT ONE PARTICULAR ACTION OR ANOTHER IS CONTRARY TO ITS PROVISIONS, BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE SUCH CONCERN IS JUSTIFIED.

-- NEGOTIATORS OF QA RECOGNIZED LIMITATIONS INHERENT IN ADDRESSING CAUSES OF CONFRONTATION IN WHAT FOR QUARTER OF A CENTURY HAD STOOD AS SYMBOL FOR CONFRONTATION AND CRISIS. THEIR ACHIEVEMENT WAS QUITE REMARKABLE, BUT NECESSARILY REFLECTED OBVIOUS FACT
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THAT COMMON INTERPRETATIONS COULD NOT BE ACHIEVED ON ALL ASPECTS OF BERLIN'S FUTURE, NOR WOULD FUNDAMENTAL LEGAL THEORIES OF BOTH SIDES BE CHANGED OVERNIGHT.

-- WESTERN ALLIES, FOR THEIR PART, HAVE SERIOUSLY UNDERTAKEN THEIR OBLIGATIONS TO IMPLEMENT BOTH LETTER AND SPIRIT OF AGREEMENT AND HAVE WELCOMED SIMILAR ASSURANCES FROM OTHER SIDE. THERE IS NO INTENTION ON OUR PART OF UNILATERALLY CHANGING SITUATION IN AND AROUND BERLIN, BUT BY SAME TAKEN IT WAS NEVER ENVISAGED THAT LIFE OF THIS GREAT CITY SHOULD IN ANY WAY STAGNATE OR BE STIFLED. ACCORDINGLY, WE HAVE SUPPORTED PROPOSALS THAT AFFORD OPPORTUNITIES FOR JOBS AND GROWTH AS LONG AS THEY ARE CONSONANT WITH QA.

-- BERLIN AGREEMENT HAS NOT SERVED MERELY AS TEST OF DETENTE IN LIMITED AREA: IT HAS MADE POSSIBLE FURTHER INTERNATIONAL EFFORTS TO REDUCE TENSION. SALT-I AGREEMENT FOLLOWED SHORTLY IN 1972, AND WE ARE NOW ENGAGED IN FURTHER MULTIFRONT EFFORTS IN CSCE, MBFR, AND SALT-II FORUMS. HOPEFULLY, LESSONS

OF BERLIN CAN ALSO BE APPLIED EVENTUALLY TO SOME OF
WORLD'S MORE VOLATILE CURRENT CRISIS AREAS.

-- ON ONE SCORE, I'M LEADING REPRESENTATIVES OF MY
COUNTRY WHO HAVE PRECEDED ME IN VISITING BERLIN, LET
THERE BE NO DOUBT: OUR DETERMINATION TO DEFEND
FREEDOM AND VIABILITY OF THIS CITY, WHICH HAS COME
TO MEAN SO MUCH TO MY COUNTRYMEN, IS UNALTERED AND
NON-NEGOTIABLE.

FORUM

3. WE ARE ATTRACTED BY IDEA OF SPEECH BEFORE HOUSE OF
REPRESENTATIVES WITH CAVEAT THAT, DEPENDING UPON DATE
OF SECRETARY'S VISIT, HOUSE MAY BE IN MIDST OF RE-
ORGANIZATION (LAST SCHEDULED SESSION OF OLD HOUSE IS
SET FOR MARCH 20, WITH NEWLY-ELECTED REPRESENTATIVES
DEFINITELY SLATED TO CONVENE APRIL 24). WE FEEL CONFIDENT
HOUSE WOULD CALL SPECIAL SESSION SHOULD SECRETARY
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CHOOSE THIS FORUM, HOWEVER, AND WOULD BE PLEASED TO
SOUND OUT SENATE ON THIS SUGGESTION IF SO INSTRUCTED.
WHILE PRESS CONFERENCE ALTERNATIVE WOULD ALSO REACH
WIDE-SPECTRUM AUDIENCE, AND WE WOULD PERCEIVE NO
POLITICAL DRAWBACKS, AS PRIVATE BODY IT WOULD PROVIDE
A CONSIDERABLY LESS DRAMATIC SETTING. GEORGE

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